months later, depending upon the type and the conditions of rainfall. Fresh maize was roasted before a fire or made into porridge or into cakes called *shipa*. A fermented beverage was also prepared from newly harvested maize. Ears of maize were also dried and stored in the house to be later crushed in a mortar and used for making porridge.

Manioc (chupú).—While in the Chaco, the Terena cultivated both the sweet manioc, *eshóti-chupú*, and the bitter manioc, *suatí-chupú*. Manioc was planted at the same time as maize and was weeded to give the young plants a good start. Sweet manioc matured in about 8 months and bitter manioc in about 12 months. Bitter manioc was thus a valuable food reserve, as it became available during the lean months of September and October.

Sweet manioc was eaten boiled and baked or cut up and boiled with meat. Bitter manioc, however, had to be processed in order to rid the tubers of their poisonous acids. The tubers were first cleaned, then shredded with a wooden grater. The pulp was then rolled in a cotton cloth which was wrung with the aid of two sticks, one at each end of the cloth press. The pulp was then rolled into small cakes, *hihi*, or large cakes, *hapapé*, and baked until the bitter taste disappeared.

Sweetpotatoes (kohé).—The sweetpotato was a favorite food of the Terena and was planted in large quantities. The Terena recognized three varieties: A white variety known as *hepuiti-kohé*, a yellow variety, *hiati-kohé*, and a purple variety, *haraiti-kohé*. Although sweetpotatoes could be planted throughout the year, the biggest plantings were made at the beginning of the rainy season. Sweetpotatoes planted in October were ready for use in March.

Sweetpotatoes were eaten boiled, or baked on hot coals or in earth ovens. A hole in the ground was filled with wood and after the wood had burnt down to coals, the potatoes were placed in it, covered with soil and left for a day or two.

Maize, sweetpotatoes, and manioc were the staple subsistence crops of the Terena. In addition to being substantial foods, these crops became available for use over a period stretching from January to October. Maize came in from January to March, sweetpotatoes from March to July, manioc from August to October.

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trees, particularly, are not only fruit producers but provide excellent shade for humans and animals alike. The best soils are in the bottom lands along the stream beds. Soils from the slopes have washed down to these level areas and denser vegetation has provided a top soil of humus. The Indian takes care, however, not to select his field too near the streams as flash floods during the rainy season are common. Sugarcane, particularly, is grown in these moist areas. Rice also is sometimes grown here, but since moisture conditions are too uncertain the Terena are gradually giving up the attempt to grow rice near the village. When a Terena has selected his field he fences it to keep out the cattle and horses which roam freely over the Post lands. If his field is small he puts up a brushwood fence, if it is large the manager of the Post supplies him with barbed wire. Barnyard manure is not used except on areas cultivated by the Post. After a year or two the Indian abandons his field and moves to another site. Although land is plentiful, good areas tend to be selected farther and farther from the village and this tendency has led some of the Terena to build houses on their lands and to settle permanently away from the village proper. 241 [134]

When a Terena has selected his field and fenced it, he clears off the trees and undergrowth with an ax and a machete. The trunks and large limbs of the trees are cut up for firewood and carried to the village. Branches, weeds, and tall grass are burned and the ashes spread over the field and hoed into the ground. The field is now ready for planting.

Manioc.—As manioc is the principal food and article of trade of the Terena it is also the principal crop. About half of the total cultivated land is planted in manioc. Both sweet and bitter manioc are cultivated. As bitter manioc is the source of manioc meal, more of this variety is grown than of the sweet variety. 244 262 [241]

Manioc is planted at the beginning of the rainy season, that is, in late August or September, in rows about 3 feet apart. In each row a man makes holes about 2½ feet apart and 6 inches deep with a hoe. Another person follows, sometimes the man's wife or son, placing pieces of manioc cuttings in the holes and covering the holes with his foot. After 20 days the field is weeded to give the young plants an opportunity to grow. Thirty days

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later the field is weeded again with a hoe. After this weeding the manioc plant is strong enough to overcome the weeds and no more weeding is necessary. Sweet manioc takes 8 months to mature, and bitter manioc 1 year. Even then, mature manioc is left in the ground until required. 244 262

Sweet manioc is dug up as needed for daily use, the tubers being boiled or baked. Less often, boiled sweet manioc is mashed, made into cakes, and baked. Sweet manioc is also widely used in soups made with dried meat and onions. This latter dish is probably of Brazilian origin because one meets it in a "caboclo" hut as well as in a first-class hotel. 252 [179]

Bitter manioc, on the other hand, cannot be used until the poisonous acid is expelled. Bitter manioc is dug up by rows and processed. An Indian will say, "Today I am going to dig up two rows of manioc," which means that he is going to prepare a certain amount of manioc meal. In collecting manioc a man is usually assisted by his family, all carrying netted bags or large baskets and digging sticks. The stalk is pulled up and the dark brown tubers, ranging from 6 to 18 inches in length, are dug up and placed in the bags and baskets and carried home. At the back of the house the women clean the tubers, scraping off the loose dirt, small roots, and skin. The white tubers are now ready for grating. There are at least three principal types of graters. The simplest kind consists of a board with many nails driven through it so that one side is covered with spikes protruding about a quarter of an inch from the board. A woman then passes a tuber over the grater until it is reduced to shreds. Another type of grater resembles our kitchen grater, being a piece of tin with many holes punched through it, and is used in the same manner. A more efficient grater is made by covering a wooden cylinder with a sheet of tin punched full of holes. This roller is then fixed to the center of a special table and is turned by hand, the grated manoic falling into a vessel below. 252 244 252 412

The Terena no longer squeeze manioc pulp in a cotton cloth with sticks at both ends to give added purchase. Today, following the Brazilian custom, they put the pulp in a wooden press and squeeze out the juice, which contains a poisonous acid. The resulting semidry mass, called *kihi*, is first dried in the sun, then put through a rough sieve, and later toasted over a fire in a large iron pan. The meal, *yusa*, is then ready for use. It is eaten 252 [179] [262]

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pole is attached which, when drawn around in a circle, turns the three cylinders. Although two or three men can turn the cylinders, a horse is customarily hitched to the pole. 257

While the cylinders are turning, a man forces pieces of cane between the cylinders where the juice is expelled and later drips into cans or wooden buckets below. The juice is known as "garapa" and is drunk fresh from the machine, the usual custom being to drink it through the teeth to keep out the dirt. To prepare sirup, or "rapadura," the juice is boiled over a fire in flat iron basins about 4 feet in diameter. The first product obtained is sirup, *mopó*, which is widely used domestically and is also sold. With further boiling, "rapadura," or brown ungranulated sugar, is obtained. This sugar is pressed into approximately 1-kilo blocks and is used as candy or for sweetening tea, coffee, and other foods. When the boiled juice is permitted to settle and the water to evaporate, black granulated raw sugar is obtained. The Terena customarily produce only sirup and ungranulated brown sugar. [272]

Maize.—As a food crop maize is definitely secondary to manioc. The Terena appear to grow a primitive type of maize having a long slender ear with yellow kernels. The other two types, one a short ear with yellow kernels and the other with reddish kernels, appear to be varieties developed by the Brazilians. Maize is planted in September and harvested in April. Usually it is planted in rows, although it is often found growing irregularly in the fields. Much of the crop is used green, the ears being boiled or roasted before a fire. Coarsely ground maize is used for making a thin gruel, *chomoiú*, a porridge called *yukuí*, or corn cakes known as *shipa*. After an ear of corn is husked, the kernels are removed and roughly ground in a wooden mortar. The coarse meal is then winnowed after which it is ready for use. 243 243 152

Sweetpotatoes.—The Terena grow three main types of sweetpotato: a yellow variety, a white variety, and a purple variety. The cuttings are set out in September and are ready for use in March and April. Sweetpotatoes are eaten boiled or baked. The Terena still bake sweetpotatoes in the old way. First a hole is dug in the ground and filled with firewood and lighted. When the fire has burned down to coals, the sweetpotatoes 249 252

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are put in and covered with soil and left for a day or two; when the oven is uncovered the tubers are well baked. Candy is sometimes made from sweetpotatoes by baking out the sirup. Sweetpotatoes are also treated like manioc when there are large quantities and it is feared they will decay—the potatoes are grated, the water is removed in a press, and the dry pulp is formed into cakes and baked in an oven. 244 252

Cará.—This yellow-skinned tuber, which looks like a yam but tastes like manioc, can be planted at any time of the year. It is used in soups and stews made with dried meat. 244 [262]

Beans.—The popular bean grown by the Terena is a small reddish-brown variety, known in Portuguese as "feijão miudo." This hardy bean, which matures in about 4 months, can be planted at any time of the year but does best when planted at the beginning of the rainy season. A creeping variety, known in Portuguese as "feijão rasteiro," is also planted although it does not grow well in this region. This variety of bean is planted in March and harvested in June. Beans are an important part of Terena diet and are eaten boiled, if possible with a piece of fat pork. Like the Brazilians, the Terena now eat boiled beans with rice. [262] [252]

Rice (nakatí).—As has been mentioned, rice is an unreliable crop in this region owing to the uncertainty of rains. If the rains are heavy enough some rice will be planted in the lowlands surrounding Bananal. The planting period will vary from September to January or even February if the rains happen to be heavy in this month. The rice grown is of the dry-land variety, sown broadcast. 243

The scientific terms for the varieties of rice grown by the Terena were not obtained. They use the local Portuguese terms for the rice they grow, recognizing three varieties, namely, "catetinho," "arroz grande," and "amarelo." If the rains are sufficient, rice will mature in about 100 days after planting. Rice is harvested with a sickle, and after the sheaves are dry the heads are removed by beating the sheaf against the ground. Rice is husked as required for household use in the same wooden mortar used for husking maize. Rice is eaten boiled in the Brazilian fashion or boiled rice is made into cakes and baked. Sometimes rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. [262] [252]

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times rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. 500

In addition to these principal crops the Terena produce small quantities of pumpkins, onions, tomatoes, red and green peppers, and garlic. 244

Among fruits, mangoes, oranges, tangerines, lemons, limes, guavas, and pineapples are important. During December and January mangoes are so plentiful in the village that not only people, but horses, cows, hogs, and chickens, eat them. Bananas and plantains also form an important year-round part of Terena diet. Among the bananas that grow well in this region are the "nanica," a small banana called "veia" and the "São Tomé." The plantain, which in Portuguese is called "banana de terra," is used boiled, fried, and dried. 245 [252]

Tobacco.—This crop is grown to some extent. When the plant matures the leaves are picked, rolled, and squeezed in a press to remove moisture, then unrolled and left to dry. This process is repeated several times. When the leaves are finally dry they are rolled into a cord about 1 inch in diameter, the cord being coiled into a compact cylindrical block about 12 inches in diameter and 12 inches high. This tobacco is sold to stores and is retailed by the meter or centimeter. The Terena use this type of tobacco for making cigarettes, dried corn husk being used for rolling. They, however, prefer cheap manufactured cigarettes to the rather heavy, home-grown tobacco. 249 [276]

Cotton.—The Terena still grow cotton, and it is the special privilege of the women to sow the seed. It is planted at the beginning of the rains. The bolls are picked and the seeds are removed by hand. Cotton is spun on a native spindle, consisting of a 2-inch whorl on a stick about a foot long. The Terena still use the traditional loom already described. 248 [462]

THE DAILY ROUND

It is customary for the Terena to arise at dawn. The first person up, whether man or woman, lights a fire at the back of the house and puts a kettle of water on the fire to boil. For awhile the fire builder may fan the fire with a plaited "abanico," or fan. While the water is heating the others get up and all wash their hands and faces either by pouring water into one hand or, more rarely, by washing in a basin. Soap is used when it is available, but towels are rarely used. 512 [372] [515]